2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numak-maxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ants were in full agreement on some points. They stated that those with singer rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles were singers for the Women's Goose Society and that greater emphasis was placed on warfare rites. There was no reference in the Robe and Skull myths or rites to warfare except in the incident when Good Furred Robe founded the Black Mouth or Brave Warrior Society and gave a sunflower plant to each of the two bravest men, who were to carry them on war expeditions. The following articles were contained in a principal bundle: corn basket, elkskin robe, clay pot, wooden pipe, deer skull and antlers, corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, blackbird heads, bull-snake skin, bundle of young white sage, duck heads, swan feathers, goose heads, strip of grizzly-bear skin, gourd rattles, and a scalp. Owners of principal bundles held singer status. Bobtail Bull, so far as it was possible to determine, was the only Mandan with this status surviving the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

"2. *Secondary bundles.*—Those holding secondary bundle rights were exceedingly numerous. Such bundles were hereditary in character but followed two distinct patterns. For instance, a qualified individual wishing to buy the Snake rites from Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles could either purchase rights from a Snake bundle-owner or could go to a principal bundle-owner and make the purchase. The purchase pattern was the same in both instances. White Calf purchased his Snake bundle from his parents, although his father was dead at the time of the transfer, and Bears Ghost bought from his father, Foolish Chief. On the other hand, Bobtail Bull sold the Snake rites to his son-in-law from a principal bundle.[4] He could do that without subdividing the bundle, since four sales were permissible. Bear bundles could be transferred or made up in the same manner. Men or women either could buy individually or could purchase jointly. There was a difference between group purchases instituted by a man from that of a female purchase. When a man bought, his wives, sisters, and brothers could purchase jointly. However, when a woman initiated the purchase, her sisters, brothers, and their wives could purchase jointly, but the husband could

4. There was a tendency to sell secondary bundles to sons, whereas clan inheritance by transfer to a sister's son or a son-in-law was generally practiced for original or principal tribal bundles.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts.

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE MANDAN SYSTEM.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled 424 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organizations, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired 432 by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically 171 identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age [551] did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xu^{n}pé^{n}).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly" 573 organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) $\frac{1}{A}$ also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

575 There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

177 Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic 575 of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In 575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

$\frac{1}{A}$ [i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Shaved Head societies. Black-chest's enumeration differs from that by Wounded face merely in the omission of the Old Dog, Coarse Hair, and Black Tail Deer societies and in the reversal of the relative positions of the Buffalo Bull and Dog societies. 575

MANDAN SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 139–144).	Wounded-face.
	1. Cheyenne Society (cō'ta ō'xat'e)
	2. Kit-Fox Society (ō'xox'atoc)
	3. Little Dog Society (mini'sinik ō'xat'e
1. Foolish Dogs (Meni'ss O'chka O'chatā)	4. Crazy Dog Society (mini's'ō'xka ō'xat'e)
2. Crows, or Ravens (Hāhderucha O'chatā)	
3. Half-shaved Heads (I'schohā Kako-schochatā)	
4. Soldiers (Chara'k O'chatā, or Kau'a Karakśchka)	5. Black Mouth Society. (I'he psi'here ō'xate, or numā'k xarāk ō'xat'e)
5. Dogs (Meni'ss O'chatā)	7. Dog Society (mini's ō'xatoc)
6. Old Dogs (Meni'ss-Chāh-Ochatā)	8. Old Dog Society (mini's xixe' ō'xat'e)
7. Buffalo Bulls (Bero'ck-O'chatā)	6. Buffalo Bull Society (mēro'k ō'xat'e)
8. Black-Tail Deers (Schu'mpsi O'chatā)	10. Black-Tail Deer Society (cu'psi ō'xat'e)
	9. Coarse Hair Society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e)

CHEYENNE SOCIETY.

Wounded-face's group bought the Cheyenne society (cō'ta ō'xat'e), at the request of the men owning it, when my informant was about 10 or 12 years old. Calicoes and tanned goods were gathered, and with them a pipe was taken to the sellers. One of these smoked the pipe to show that they were willing to dispose of their membership. 575 432 [576]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'zat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pa ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way.

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kta'ni mąhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Sĭ! i'kare'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Sĭ, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you." [198]

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin;

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanū'skup) which had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacū'cuk) for one facing the door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incumbents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of

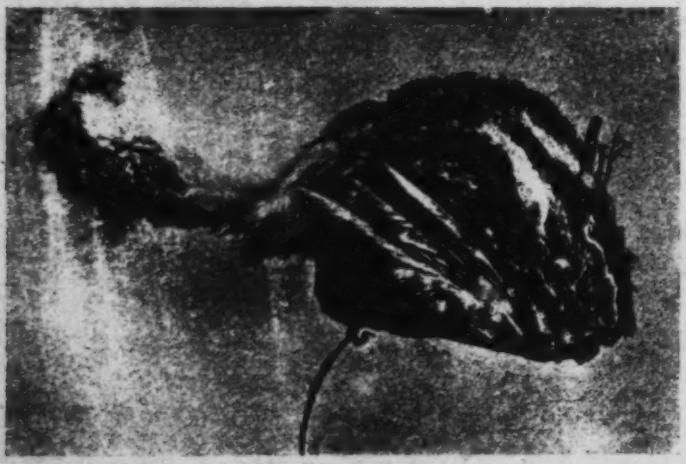

Fig. 10. (50.1–4333). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

575 773 Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packs-wolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.[1]

575 ● 432 [576] Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

[1] Maximilian, II. 162.

[For bibliography, see Category 1:3-- Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller.

575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves.

575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language.

575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used

575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

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Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 778 527 837 533

At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 [841] 837 432 527 [782]

Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden.

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa:—

"Māha'hkureci'ruts. tō'cē'ruca, marē'wits."
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow.

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights.

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to t[illegible]'s authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on.

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa.

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances.

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

575 432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

575 432 527 When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,— some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired [535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

575 535 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy[1] Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands.

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253.

Crow Society.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hä'derucha-O'chatä as "Crow, or Raven, band."[1] Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hä'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership.

Half-shaved Heads.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kakoscho'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the *Hä'deruch-O'chatä* bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarize Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase.

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught-

[1] Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa Aʾrerōʾka society (p. 266).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia. These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head pointing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin, while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight. A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other. One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward, he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music. The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances, which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club addressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

432 527 [537] [293] [576] [535]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place. ●432 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the 527 lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the [837] buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the 535 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and 302 formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *i'he pi'here ō'xat'e*, or *numā'k xarā'k* 625 *ō'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes.

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.[1]

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.[2] Long ago Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black

1 Maximilian, I, 378.
2 Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Badger Society.

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This society was not mentioned by any of my Mandan friends, but was described by Wolf-chief as a Mandan (not an Hidatsa) institution. The members were old and but few in number. They did not dance, but assembled to go into a sweat lodge together, on which occasion they tried to fight like badgers and otherwise imitate these animals. In leaving the sweat lodge they always proceeded backwards. The sweat bath could never get too hot for them. Only those who had sold all other societies took part in these proceedings. Like other groups, however, the Badgers attempted to sell their membership. Some years ago a single Badger remained, and offered to sell his membership rights to my informant, who, however, refused to purchase them.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

H 561 575

not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

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The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

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The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

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That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

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Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

H [476]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

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Hairy-coat said that the Enemy Women society was originated among the Hidatsa by Itsi'kawā'hiric, the mythical hero. This informant also sang the two following songs as belonging to the society:—

(a)

mī'racĕ'ruc	batsĕ'	wakī'rits,	hi'ro	hūts.
I myself	a man	I look for,	here	he comes.

(b)

Màkooxpa',	na'kirac	ī'ru	mi	i'katā`ruc,	hiri'ts
Woman friend,	your husband	fixedly (?)	me	he looks at,	he did it.

na'cirihitō`k?
Will you throw him away?

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Goose Society.

Hides-and-eats joined the Goose society (mi'ra i'ke') when she was about 30 years of age. Calf-woman gives the same for the members' average age, though she herself joined at 13, there being two young girls in the organization. Hides-and-eats said there was always *one* young member; in her day it was Calf-woman. The Goose women would cast about for a girl well beloved by her parents, and when they found one tried to make the parents consent to her adoption into the society; thus Calf-woman was adopted, and her parents paid a large amount of property for the privilege. Calf-woman herself said that she had been selected by Bells-look-round, one of the male singers, who also served as musician for the White Buffalo Women society. Calf-woman's father paid a great deal of calico and other property to the society. As a badge Calf-woman, as well as the other young member, received a head band of a duck skin with the bill (see Fig. 14), while the older members all wore narrow head bands of goose skin. The normal method of entering the society was for the entire River Women society to buy in a body the regalia and other appurtenances of the Goose society.

Fig. 14 (50.1–4360). Duckskin Head Band of Goose Society. Length, 54 cm.

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4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913

NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

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A mother who had thus surrendered her regalia no longer belonged to the society, her place being taken by her daughter. Hides-and-eats' group was the last to buy the Goose society, for the next lower group never applied for the purchase of the organization, so that Hides-and-eats still retains her headband. Accordingly, she still considers herself a member of the Goose society; she does not consider herself a member of any of the lower societies because she surrendered the privileges of membership to her adoptive children when these acquired membership in the usual way, by purchase.

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Before the great ceremony of the society could be performed it was necessary that someone should have had a dream to that effect. Then the members prepared dried meat. Calf-woman says that in the winter some woman would always get up, saying, "In the spring, when the snow is off the ground, we are going to have a ceremony, we shall have to hang up offerings on posts." Then the necessary preparations were made. When the geese made their first appearance in the spring, meat was suspended from a tripod meat-rack set up on the borders of the village. When everything had been prepared, the members paraded through the village, halting four times on the way to the meat-rack. Each woman carried on her left arm an armful of sage enclosing an ear of corn. Calf-woman used to carry a pipe, as well as some dried meat and fat impaled on a cottontree branch. This pipe and the stick she afterwards placed before one of the singers, who lit the pipe, seized the dried meat, and returned it to Calf-woman. This was done four times. When the procession had arrived at the place of the meat-racks, the members performed one dance. Then there came from the village two representatives from each of the men's societies in their full regalia. These men were the bravest of their organization; they approached the meat, afoot or mounted (according to the nature of their martial exploits) and appropriated the dried meat, in place of which each warrior left one of his best blankets or a horse for the Goose woman who had prepared the food, i. e., the woman who took the initiative in getting up the ceremony. After the performance of the first dance, this woman distributed a great deal of meat to the spectators, who must remain on the west side of the lodge. After each of four dances this distribution took place. After the last dance those who had been newly adopted gave presents to their mothers. Then each new member took up her sage and corn, and raced at a dead run as fast as possible and back again. The woman who got back first would be instructed by the spirits as to the right way of living. The singer to whom Calf-woman offered the pipe and meat then turned his robe so that the hairy side faced outside, tied a red-fox skin round his head, took the pipe to the east, and touched with it whatever dried meat still remained.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

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Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

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While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

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The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

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Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

M H 575 432 527

the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power — acquired by purchase — of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

M H [182]

"tawi^{p}'hakehak', tē'ha hā'kehară makū'nista. nimă'Mihe
"This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
ĭ'wakise ki'ritkăksō'ore."[1]
I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

[1] This prayer is in Mandan.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

M H 527 575 432

till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

M H [182]

In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *ĭ'rara'xke*, that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (kō′xati akupā′+i), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or gooseskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.[1] Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

> After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

[1] Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kĭnumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kĭnumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

[292]

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 ●432 [608] One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society.

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership.

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations.

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

The White Buffalo Cow society (ptĭ'take ŏ'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin. Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I will now present my own field notes concerning this society. 575

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. 432 Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. 535 They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered 575 an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a 527 red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a 292 corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). [778] A buffalo cow skull had been placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *âtûre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle 575 officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they 527 met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned 535 to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17). 575 626

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance. 575 789

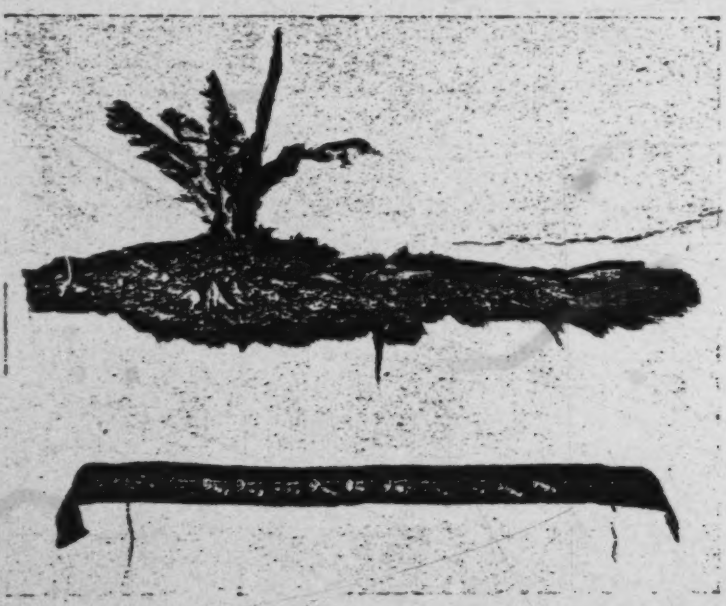
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Fig. 17 (50.1–4815, 50.1–4231). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin. 575 608 432 [534]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more carefully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

304 785 They have another custom of putting their courage and contempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably 304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at 684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish- [578] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given 837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many [164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's 609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found [432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without